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HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

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Location

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Paraná and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

1 Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

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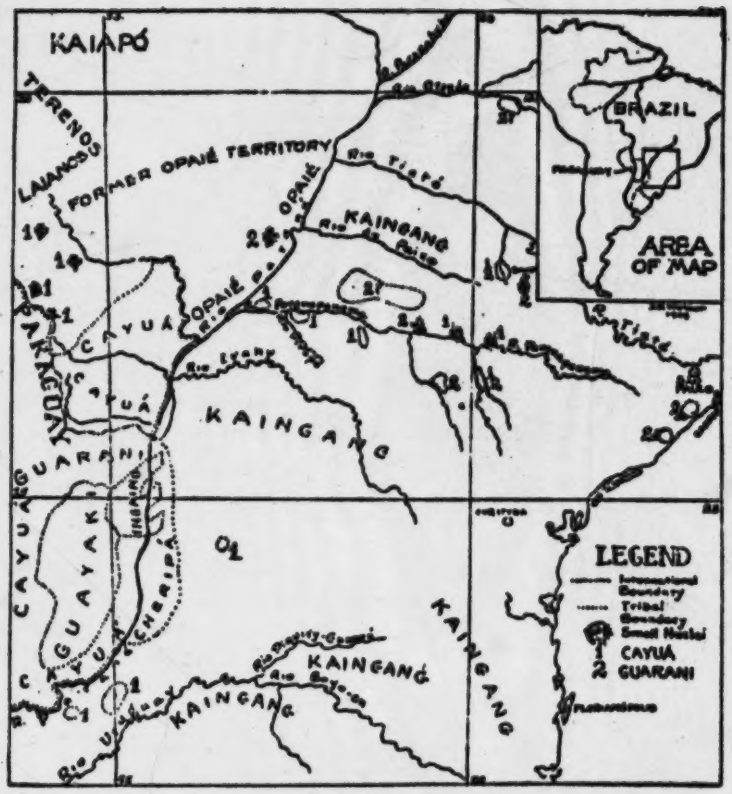

Ethnographic map of southern Brazil—About 1911
Based on map by H. von Ihering
(See footnote 7)

[p. 4]

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ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1850-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Económicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

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and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata* or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

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the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

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226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

462 The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activ-
[482] ities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

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under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca[a] wi[i].

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174 797 tlements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guaraní languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranís". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guaraní" or "Northern Guaraní". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guaraní" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Calaguá (= Cayuá).

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One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

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174 797 affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174 648 If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241 174 648 In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[11] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[12]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
12 Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

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We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140.

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

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657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the
648 former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a
433 limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both
178 canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between
484 Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the
[48] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.
[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and
[127] the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

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In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..." [21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23]

[182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture.

[415] [293]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for

[648]

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Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. 226 178 The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] [241] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

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as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

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175 722 182 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seeking the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 241 648 182 [667] It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agriculture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 241 412 182 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agriculture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão* or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

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instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

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Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture

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[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

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592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

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Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changuear*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within.

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[23] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "*serviço*," or work involved, is

[23] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

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241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
466 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33]
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area; and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
438 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

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the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy. 177 178 437 438

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is certainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the "*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão.*" But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance. 177 178 464 437 465

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social 177 178 496 437

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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

177 Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
182 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
434 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

434 The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
182 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
184 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
177 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

476 The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
182 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
177 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

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